NATURAL RIGHTS.

PROFESSOR RITCHIE ARGUES THAT NONE EXISTS.

NATURAL RIGHTS. A Criticism of Some Political and Ethical Conceptions. By David G. Ritchie, M. A., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of St. Andrews. Pp. xvi. 304. Macmillan & Co. (Library of Philosophy). Pp. xvi. 30 Philosophy).

The Declaration of Independence asserts as self-evident truths that all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their Cre- straint is absurd. The heaviest taskmaker can ator with certain inalienable rights which are usually mentioned in this country with considerable pomp and ceremony about the Fourth of July. Professor Ritchie insists that there must be some mistake about the matter. Even with regard to life he seems to occupy the position of that French Minister who to an office-seeker's plen that he must live replied, "I do not see the necessity." He intimates that the Declaration of Independence was really a declaration of war, and that it must be viewed in the light of | they were included in the Declaration of Indethe struggle which followed. Statements which pendence. The real question at issue was whethmay be quite true in a particular case are not. therefore, true for all times and places. This is illustrated by the doctrine of predestination which troubles many at the present day. How was it that an opinion which seems to savor of fatalism could have been the inspiration of men who were the sturdiest defenders of liberty in their time? Because, answers Professor Ritchie, it put a flerce negative upon a belief which was sapping the strength of the Christian world. If givine power alone could save men, then the magical effect attributed to the ministrations of the priesthood and the superstitious observance of rites was to be denied, and men were free from a bondage in which they had hitherto willingly served. As a negation the doctrine was of wonderfu! value. But now that the abuses which it counteracted have been removed in large part, it has ceased to be a stimu lus to humanity and has become a burden. It will easily be guessed that Professor Ritchie, though anything but a disciple of Herbert Spencer, is nevertheless an advocate of evolution. Every institution accepted by multitudes of men in the past had its value for the people among whom it existed. It became a wrong only when it outlasted its usefulness. The most extreme case of this sort in modern times was that of slavery. Under certain conditions of life human bondage was indispensable to civilization. It was only when men had arrived at new conditions that the evil of slavery became unendurable. It was no wrong as long as it contributed to the advancement of the race, and the slave was not born with a right to freedom when this right would have been an obstacle to progress. In short, man is not born with any rights at all. He is born into a society which has already been set a-going, and he receives the consideration under the slowly changing rules and methods of that society which he is in a position to exact. It is difficult to see how Professor Ritchie can avoid making right and might exactly equivalent terms. But, of course, his view of the case can be stated more tenderly in a volume than in a paragraph. Carlyle thought he had answered the critics who accused him of preaching that might is right by saying that right is might. It was a preity turn, but it did not serve. Professor Ritchie seems to maintain that a right which cannot be successfully asserted is no right. But it is possible that this defect may be the best proof of natural right. The most elementary example is that of an infant exposed by unnatural parents to die. This crime was once prevalent among very highly civilized people. It was put down among the Arabs by Mahomet, but is still common in Chipa. Owing to one of those ambiguities which Professor Ritchie mentions, parents might say that they only asserted a right in abandoning a burdensome babe. But the right of the babe to a chance for its life would be indicated by a sense of injustice among those who found it exposed, emphatic enough in some cases to save it from death. If it is not useles to judge all human nature by what can now be known of it, the compassion for an infant under such circumstances is universal, though in some races and individuals it may have been almost effaced by usage. The question is whether or not there has always been in the human mind a this sense of injustice there must be a corre-

sponding right on the part of those who suffer from these acts. But Professor Ritchie only considers so-called natural rights in the form asserted in modern times in Europe and America. The controversy goes back to the Reformation. That movement was inspired by the principle that the individual must be left to choose for himself in religious affairs. It is easy to show that this principle cannot logically be carried out. Heredity, education, environment, forces which affect the mind so slowly as to be rarely matters of direct observa-tion, make the man what he is. An Arabian writer once imagined the case of a philosopher who had neither father nor mother, but was born from the fruit of a tree and raised to manhood among the heasts of the field and the forest. But here the conditions of growth answer to those of other mortals, and it would not follow that another philosopher born on a different tree and raised in another island would arrive at the same conclusions in religious metaphysics which Abi Jaafer reached. Thus there is no certainty that truth could be attained without the compulsion of society any more than within its circle. But the assertion of the privileges of the individual met the undue arrogance of the priesthood and the pervasive tyranny of the social organism. Men were so pleased with the notion that they used it in politics as well as in religion. It was as good an argument against princes as against popes. The use of it was not confined to any race Professor Ritchie holds up to ridicule the idea that what Burke called metaphysic rights originated among the French. The English revolutionists had said the same thing in their time, the only difference being that their jargon was religious And out of their agitation in the years between 1600 and 1688 had sprung a succession of philosophers who taught the French a new dialect. English Levellers, like Lilburne, had not thought of going back to a hypothetical beginning of things to find the state which they hoped to restore. On the contrary, they sought the golden age among the Anglo-Saxons before the Norman Conquest But that would not do for Hobbes nor for Locke, both of whom imagined a state of nature, the one as an argument for absolutism, the other as an ideal of freedom. Locke's state of nature was not perfect. He thought it a drawback that each in had to be judge in his own case, though he hardly seems to have perceived how close he came to reasserting Hobbe's principle that man's first state was that of universal war. But Locke inspired the French philosophers, and he so influenced the minds of the revolutionists in America that they hardly thought of insisting on their rights as Englishmen, so attractive was the ap-

Professor Ritchie collects in one view the varied meaning of the word nature and its correlates, and comes to the conclusion that Mr. Squeers can be defended for saying that "Nature is a rum 'un." It is really hard to say into what cranny a natural-rights philosopher might not escape, if pressed by an opponent. But the antagonist of natural rights has the same facility. He can misinterpret the meaning of what has Jefferson called a self-evident proposition. If the American rebels, who were the first to put the theories and the very phraseology of Locke to practical use, had been mere rhetoricians, they could hardly have done better than they did. They were appealing from English royal and Parliamentary exactions to the public opinion of Europe. The latter was not at all conversant with the domestic usages of England, but it was in tempestuous agreement about the rights of man; that is, it was prepared to kill anybody that attempted either to deny or to

define them. Moreover, the Americans were really very moderate in their assertions. They alleged rights which they knew could be invaded, but which they also knew were approximately attained in every state. Human life is, on the whole, profitable. Even a tyrant, unless he is a victim of paresis, leaves most of his subjects undisturbed. A slave has more liberty than limitations. His master can drive him to the field, but he cannot make him do more than a small measure of work. This has been demonstrated so often that it has even been used as an argument against slavery. When it comes to the pursuit of happiness, the thought of reonly make his victims wretched a part of the time. And the freest man on earth finds that he has several other things to do besides looking after happiness. Such rights are inalienable simply because human nature can never be wholly deprived of them, and every successful assertion of power on the part of their possessors adds to them. No ambiguity in the term "natural rights" affects this corclusion. There is an element of humor, however, in the fact that er America should be a self-governed country. not whether its individual citizens should have all the rights they might wish to claim. But if the statesmen of that day had said flatly and plainly, without any metaphysics, that they wished to create a constitution for themselves, their prosale utterances would never have stirred public thought in Europe.

This is in accordance with Professor Ritchie's view. It was not the abstract truth nor the universal validity of the doctrine concerning the rights of man that made it useful in the eighteenth century. The doctrine was simply the best expression that could be given to the thoughts of the time. Now the world has outgrown it. To assert these so-called rights is to be guilty of an anachronism. Even if they are looked upon as rights which would be guaranteed by society, if society were what it ought to be, their assertion must still be put off to that indefinite time when society shall be perfected. When goats swim in the sea and fishes browse on the hilliops, when every man's reason shall be in agreement with the universal reason, then all these rights can be serted, for they will be granted without question. At present the differences among human beings are so great that it is a mere formality to call them equal. Freedom is only possible in a limited sense. Even the press cannot be allowed to be tolerated. The assertion of the right to live seems logically to imply the right of suicide also but that is not the view taken by the modern world, though the severity of the laws is tempered by the benevolent lying of coroner's juries who find mental aberration where none existed, Professor Ritchie is severe on the conduct of the United States in the matter of religion. He finds that some states have laws which prevent mer from holding office unless they believe in a future that some states have laws which prevent men from holding office unless they believe in a future state of rewards and punishments. It is possible, however, that office-holders might be discovered even in those States who did not believe in any-thing. The treatment of the Mormons he dwells upon in particular as a violation of the religious liberty upon which the great Republic plumes it-self. He urges the opponents of polygamy to transfer their sentiments to a sixteenth century Protestant or to a devout Catholic or to a strict Protestant or to a devout Catholic or to a strict Anglican. They will then understand, he thinks, how the one hated the "idolatrous sacrifice of the mass," how the other is horrified by the license of divorce, and how the third shrinks from the Deceased Wife's Sister bill. He discusses in suc-cession the rights of public meeting. Deceased Wife's Sister bill. He discusses in succession the rights of public meeting, contract, resistance to oppression, equality, property, showing in each case that they are social, not natural, rights, and that their exercise is limited in a marked manner by the organization of society. "The truth in the theory of natural rights," he concludes—"what gave the theory its practical value—was the belief in nature as an ideal, the belief in a divine purpose determining the ends which man should set before him, and the belief that this ideal, this divine purpose, could be disof the theory lay in the tendency to set this ideal in abstract antithesis over against the actual and historical. An adequate theory of rights and an adequate theory of the State must rest upon a that this ideal, this divine purpose, could philosophy of history."

PREHISTORIC GREECE.

ITS HISTORY RESTORED BY THE STUDY OF ITS ART.

HISTORY OF ART IN PRIMITIVE GREECE.
Mycenian Art. From the French of Georges
Perrot. Professor in the Faculty of Letters,
Member of the Institute, and Charles Chiplez.
Illustrated with Five Hundred and Forty-four
Engravings in the Text and Twenty Colored
Plates. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. pp. xiv, 538;
Vol. II, pp. xiv, 439. A. C. Armstrong & Son.

The way to a comprehension of the earliest culture of Greece leads through the tomb. Not only were the greater number of valuable relics of primeval life found there, but the ruins of the sepulchre mark the contrast between that life and the one which followed but did not supersede it. M. Perrot has based his theory for the reconstruction of the history and thought of the Mycenian period in part at least on the remarkable studies of Erwin Rohde published under the title of "Psyche." Long ago, in times when Homer's poems were almost the only source of knowledge respecting the Greeks of the ages preceding the dawn of history on Aegean shores. men were puzzled by the discrepancies between the social conditions and religious beliefs attributed by the poet to his heroes and those which were known to be prevalent soon after those heroes disappeared. It was natural to ask how the ancestor worship of historic Greece could have arisen without the knowledge of the poet, how the local delties and local worships that were existent later could have come into being unde the shadow of a national religion such as he depicted - in short, how civilization could have reached a higher plane in the historic period. while the popular faith was a' a stage so much lower than that of the Homeric poems. The contrast was seen to be all the more glaring when a learned antiquarian, who was also a man of genius, like the author of the "Argonautica," credited pre-Homeric heroes with the practices, prejudices and superstitions not of the Illad and the Odyssey, but of later times. What was worse, the poems of Homer contained contradictions. If Ulysses had to travel to the end of the world to converse with the shades, the inference was that he did this because he could evoke them nowhere else; yet the ghost of Patroclus visited the living Achilles, and Ulysses himself, calmly disregarding the hopeless imprisonment in which he found the wavering, vapory images of his old acquaintances, mocked them with the promise of a sacrifice to be offered them when he got home He knew well enough, if Homer is right, that they would forget him as soon as he departed. As for social affairs, the difference betweeen the feudal empire idealized by Homer and the warring citystates of the historic age was incalculable. Th only solution of all these difficulties, apparently, was to suppose that the descriptions in the epic were imaginary, and to fill the Greek prehistoric period with conjectures based on the analogy of other races. But this was not satisfactory, Traces were lacking of those long intervals of savagery and barbarism so manifest in other countries. Greece passed easily and quickly over obstacles which had kept back other nations for thousands of years. That was as certain before the beginning of modern research as it is now. The conservatism of the Orient had no counterpart in Hellenic history.

The key to the mystery was hidden in the burial places of Mycenae and Hissarlik. At first it was overlooked. Schliemann and those who shared his enthusiasm expected to uncover there the relics of the race which Homer celebrated and to find the proofs that its religious beliefs, its political customs and social practices were just what Homer said they were. This hope was only partially fulfilled. The spade demonstrated that the poet had not exaggerated the wonders of the primitive Greek civilization; but it also showed that he misunderstood some of the tradi-

error of which many a poet has been guilty since, of transferring the life of his own generation to a past more or less remote. When he had the clear guidance of tradition, for example, as to the royal state of the Peloponnesian princes, his descriptions were such as modern archaeology cannot traverse. When he ascribed the same gorgeous state to the chieftains of Troy he was in error. When he talked of funeral pyres he fixed the locality to which he belonged, but he did not describe the general practice of the Greek world in his time, nor in that of which he sang. This point, as to the burning of the dead, is the one upon which turns the whole problem of restoring the history of Greek life and art to a unity in which the stages of an orderly evolution can be discerned. At first the conviction was general that the custom mentioned by Homer must be the one looked for in the burial places of Mycenae. Every spot blackened by smoke was deemed a new evidence that this conviction was correct. But gradually it dawned upon investigators that all these traces of smoke taken together would not answer for a single funeral fire, while the condition in which the bones of the dead were found precluded the thought of cremation. Then the whole subject came to its true bearings. The Greeks of the carliest period, like other sedentary savages, had buried their dead, and their successors continued this practice down through all the stages of their evolution as a race until the Mycenian power was overthrown. The only convulsion known to Greek legend which could have destroyed this power was that caused by Dorian invasion, and to this was due also the movement of the Ionians back from European Greece to the shores of Asia whence they had first come. Converted thus into a nomadic people, unable for generations perhaps to find places where they could settle in peace, the Ionian and Acolian exiles forgot much that they once knew and adopted practices to which they had hither- itself a temple. Aside from the natural inference to been strangers. They did not forget their that its worship was given to the spirits of the arts nor their enterprise. The first glances of history find them engaged in wide commerce and of a sacrificial service there is nothing to inin extensive schemes of colonization, as was the case with Miletus; cuitivating philosophy in the person of Thales; sending musical experts to European Greece, as in the case of Terpander, and producing the first poets and artists of asserted; or rather they will not need to be as- Heilas. Meanwhile their journey had been neither short nor easy. A. Perrot, following the three centuries make an interval long enough suggestions of Curtius, imagines them swarming out of the Peloponnesus, sweeping up against the borders of Macedon and then southward and eastward into Asia Minor. "At first the craze publish everything, nor can every form of feligion | for displacement was confined to those clans that had been rooted out of their habitations, and whose regret for their lost native land was aggravated by the hardship and the difficulty of settlement; but ere long it spread everywhere. and attacked even such as were permanently settled, with more land, too, than they knew how to till. The restless impulse of migration was kept alive by the innate mobility of the race the temptation which navigation held out for rich settlements, such as the early emigrantsso rumor said-had everywhere found." These sentences may be colored by a vivid fancy, but

they have a background of truth. They reveal

conditions which must have been fatal to many

Ancestor worship requires for its development

presupposes a wish in the departed soul to hover

cially about the spot where the body has been places. It must adopt carrie device other than ordinary burial. The same is true of an army | rat is too cautious to assert anything more than in a hostile country. According to Pilay this that this little gold ornarient-which, by-the was the reason why the dead were burned by way, was found in a tomb resembles the palace the Romans. M. Perrot, taking a hint from at Tiryus, a building which was certainly meant Robde, supposes that a similar change from burial to burning took place among the migratory tribes of Greece in this "general wandering crepancy between the specimens of Mycenian of the nations" which he describes. Thus the art and the teaching of Homeric verse. The author or authors of the Homeric poems, living in Asia at the conclusion of this unsettled period, would have been familiar with the practice of generations immediately preceding, but not that of times more remote. But now attention must he paid to the religious meaning for a folk that had only partially emerged from savagery of such a change in their customs. As long as they remained in settled homes near the places where they buried their dead, their advance in culture gether forgotten the local divinities whom their was marked by the growing care which they own immediate ancestors worshipped, they still took of the tomb. They studied to make it per- chose to ignore them in behalf of the expanding manent and secure, to beautify it-in short, to make it a place which the shade might be glad to visit. They developed an elaborate ceremony for funerals and a sacrificial cult by which to keep themselves in favor with the dead. In other words, they treated their tombs like temples and their dead like deities. A dead prince was still in an important sense the father of his people. But when they took on migratory habts, they ceased to feel the presence of their dead. When they had reduced the body to a heap of ashes, they found it less easy to imagine the shade returning to them in the shape which they knew in life. They came even to dread its return, and the funeral games took on a new meaning; instead of being given in honor of the dead an invitation to dwell among his people, these now became a means of placating him and of insuring his entrance to the Unseen Land whence he never could return. This is exactly what the shade of Patroclus said to Achilles; and Elpenor at the entrance of Hades met Ulysses with a threat to enforce his demand for due funeral rites. Imprisoned in a remote region, the dead lost their divine character, and the poets of the Homeric circle fell back upon those deities whose fame was more general. They gave universal meaning to ideas and personages whose influence had hitherto been vague or limited. For the same reason, the affection which their ancestors had cherished for a particular region they now transferred to the whole of Greece. A national ideal such as Greece was never destined to realize was revealed in the Hiad. ideal was raised upon a foundation which was actual and substantial. Mycenae, which seemed to the wanderers in Asia the centre of Greek power and of all the beauty which the Greek mind was capable of creating, had been within the memory of men a rich and wonderful city. To those with whom it was a personal or inherited reminiscence it was far richer and more wonderful, and its princes were far grander and more powerful than they had ever been in reality. In its own place it fell into decay and partial oblivion. The authority of its rules became a fiction. But the process of artistic and social evolution which it had carried on until its strength failed was carried further in the distant regions to which its votaries were driven. Under its shadow untutored Dorian savages began rudely to imitate it. The fugitive folk turned with delight to the traditions of a past which it had shared. Its poets remembered the cities that had once been great, and their verses pointed to the very spots where modern investigation has been most richly rewarded. The poets were Aslatics only by the accident of birth; their poems all refer to European Helias; and the communities to which they belonged felt their near relationship to the men of Tiryns, Mycenae, Amyelae, Chosus, Ialysus and Orchomenus. They forgot many things and they confused things that were earlier with those that were later. But this was because the art of writing, already ancient in Mesopotamia and Egypt, had not yet reached them in a form adapted to literary use. It is possible, indeed, for the poets to have had an alphabet, but not

chieftains who once ruled the Peloponnesus and

the right beginnings of the Illad and the Odys-

sey was long. There is no better proof of this

fact than the change from burial to burning in

disposing of the dead. "Changes in matters per-

taining to religious dogmas are among the slow-

est to be effected in any community. Centuries

must have elapsed, therefore, ere men could be

persuaded to relinquish the earlier rite and ac-

cept the later version of the eternal mystery which surrounds the grave.

connecting primitive Greece with the Greece of

history should be perfect and continuous; for

the land was subject to many influences from

without. Early and late the Phoenician cruised

along its shores in his triding vessel, bartering

ship which were to serve the Greeks as sug-

not a little both in art and legend that looks

for raw material the trifles of clever workman-

these ancient workmen of Mycenae and Tiryus were Greeks in order to accept all that is said about their originality; for one does not need to be told that in later times whatever the Greeks borrowed they made their own. Here again the tomb comes in evidence. The peculiar form of those walled cavities that looked like the interior of a vast bechive was common to all the centres of the so-called Mycenian art. more antique counterparts are to be found about Mount Sipylus, in Phrygia, and legend, when it told of Peiors and his removal from Phrygia to Mycenae, alluded to a real migration of Asiatic Greeks to Europe. But the dome-shaped tombs of Phrygia, diminutive and rude, give no more than a hint of what the Greek architect found it possible to accomplish. If the real tomb was as richly ernamented with sculpture as M. Chipiez's proposed restoration of the so-called Treasury of Atreus, and if the dome was lined with plates of shining bronze as he would have it, then the finished structure was a subterranean palace. Putting one's self in the place of those to whom all this barbaric magnificence was sacrea, it is not hard to understand why no traces of temples belonging to the Mycenian period have been found. Such a tomb was dead who rested there and the few indications dicate the thought of primitive Greece respecting the gods or the ritual by which their favor was sought. M. Perrot appeals again to the fliad to show that the national divinities of Helias were well established and were already of ancient renown. But it must be remembered that two or for the inception and growth of a religion. the views of Homer and his contemporaries as to the dead had been completely transformed within the period of migration caused by the Dorlan conquest, surely many vagaries of polytheism might have been worked out in the same time. The pantheon of the Mycenians may have been a simple one. That they had a goddess answering to Aphrodite, who was herself only the Hellenic refinement of the idea more coarsely expressed in the Istar, Isis, Ashtoreth, Nana, Mylitta or Zarpanit of Oriental fancy, is certain. Rude idols that can have no other meaning have been found in considerable numbers. She was sometimes accompanied by dover, a fixed attribute of the classical Aphrodite. The Mycenian is voiceless for the modern. He could no signs for words or syllables or letters, and he has left no sign that he worshipped the greater gods of later Hellenes-Zeus, the sky a settled life on the part of its votaries. It god; Apollo, the sun god, or Ares, god of war. But these may have been worshipped in sacred about the places which it knew in life, and espe- groves, to which Homer frequently alluded. That the goddess of love had her temple can be indeposited. A wandering tribe knows no such ferred from gold ornaments representing facades, for mortals rather than for gods. In this matter of the national religion lies the main dispoets who pass under the name of Homer were nothing if not patriotic. They might well be compared to the multitude of singers who made Germany ring with the note of union long before pire. The Mycenian period seemed to them a golden age, and they hoped to bring about a renewal of the feeling by which they imagined all Greece had been united. If they had not alto-

seemed to be broken in Homer was in reality never interrupted. The Greek, who had been an ancestor worshipper in prehistoric times, was still the same under Roman imperialism. Bearing in mind that Greek unity was a matter f race and not of political artifice, one can understand more clearly the value of that varied mass of details which M. Perrot has gathered and arranged. A classification of the specimens shows that while the lost efforts of Mycenian art foreshadowed the achievements of classical times, it reached back by rude and ruder forms to the art of the islands, best represented in the examples recovered from Thera, and this older workmanship pointed to the still more ancient elics of Hissarlik. Thus, if Hissarlik be the site f Troy and if the Iliad has a historic basis, then the Trojan war must have taken place long before the society of Mycenae reached its most polished and fuxurious estate. Geologists have something to say on this point. There was once a volcanic eruption which destroyed part of the island of Thera. It is said that his calamity must have occurred at least 2,000 years before the Christian era. But the archaic houses of Thera were found beneath the volcanic over flow. How long before that eruption the siege of Troy occurred can only be guessed. But when palaces and goldsmith's work and rich garments are described in the Hiad, or the Odyssey, the verses refer not to times of savagery, but to those later ages when the cities of the Peloponnesus were at their b.st. These things are not as sure as they might be if we had them from the pen of Thucydides; but the study of the objects recovered from the tombs has given them a wonderful air of vertsimilitude. The gradual advance in skill from the rudeness of the stone to the beauty and accuracy and realistic freedom of the bulls depicted on the famous cups found at Vaphio-from the indescribably rude idols which hinted at the attributes of humanity, but gave no semblance of it, to a sculptured head that foreshadowed the features of the historic Greek; from meagre huts to the ornate palaces, some peculiarities of which were to be repeated in the proudest works of Athens-is a matter the weight of which even the dullest student of mere literary records must feel. The stages of the transition can be seen in important details, illustrated, for example, by an elaborate study in these volumes of the origin of Doric architecture, and particularly of the evolution of the entablature, which at first needlessly reproduced in stone all the features that were the unavoidable accompaniment of the use of wood. After following the author and the artist through the for those singers and story-tellers of an earlier innumerable windings of their theme, one is almost ready to see in certain specimens of the art which they celebrate an anticipation of studies the most remote from the domain of time who had handed down the traditions. For the time that elapsed between the fall of those

faith which all Greeks confessed in whole

uniform in religion; they submitted to certain

gladly fraternized at the national games; but

tem more complicated than that of the city-

sacrifices to the dead were persistently offered,

Thus the process of religious development which

plastic expression.

The translation is not worthy of the work.

Small errors, like "Pisistrodae" for "Pisistratidae," "Paleothic" for "Paleolithic," "Achylles"
for "Achylles," are too rumerous to mention,

French idioms also distract the reader's attenplastic expression. tion—for example, a reflexive verb, as in the clause, "a Doric temple had built itself," where the correct English would be, "a Doric temple had been built." But these are small blemishes in a book that by text and illustrations serves to

restore to the historical imagination a thousand years long missing from the annals of a race in which genius seemed a natural trait and dulness It is indispensable that the links in this chain the exception.

SIXTY YEARS AGO.

AMERICAN LIFE THEN AND NOW.

DOMESTIC MANNERS OF THE AMERICANS. By Mrs. Trollope. Two vols., 8vo., pp. xix. 303, and vil, 304. Dodd, Mead & Co.

gestions for their own improvement in the arts. Perhaps Americans have so far outgrown their first childishness as to be able to consider with Tiny intaglios found in unearthing Argive towns show traces of Assyrian influence, and there is some degree of calmness the criticisms which sixty years ago aroused their patriotic indignation. toward Egypt. One needs the assurance that When Mrs. Trollope visited the United States the specious philosophy of Jefferson, glorified in the uncouth assertiveness of Jackson, held full sway. The backwoods had conquered the dignified tra-dition of Puritanism. John Quincy Adams had been beaten because "he was too much of a gentle-Like a bumptious boy, aware of his immaturity, yet compelled to play the man, the young giant of the West was extremely sensitive to opinion of his elders, and sought to make sure his somewhat doubtful position by loud proclamation of his accomplishments. The United States did not start ou with aggressive commofiness. England, which Mrs. Tto lope did not visit (else she might somewhat have modified her views never was entirely given up to that jealousy of distinction. The Washingtons, Hamiltons and Marshalls, who were the real moulders of our Government, were not apostles of theoretical democracy, but were progressive Anglo-Saxons. adapting well-tried institutions to new conditions. The Revolution was fought, not for abstract principles, but in defence of vested rights. ings of Rousseau became later in this country the heories of dreamers and then the vocabulary of demagogues. And their words fell on fruitful soil. The frontiersman has no blessings of paternalism, but must be sufficient to himself. him his supremacy, and the philosophy which de clares it grows up unformulated in his mind. He has never seen his superior in the things that come in his way. He hears that he has none. Naturally he believes, and is found "scorning refinements waich he lacks himself.

The picture which this Englishwoman drew of America was not an agreeable one. She naturally found a Western town in the process of evolution from a stump patch not much to her liking. After her study she frankly avowed: "I do not like them. I do not like their principles. I do not like their manners. I do not like their opinions; and for the most part her convictions were based on experience, not on prejudice. Some of her criticisms were not well founded. Her defence of caste was a traditional confession of faith which would sound queer in Britain to-day. Her views of a State Church seem almost ridiculous, even allowing the truth of her pictures of the religious condition of America. The present state of the churches on both sides of the ocean best answers her contention. Her ideas of what the Fathers of the Constitution really meant to accomplish we exceedingly crude, though perhaps not more so than those of many of her American compeers. Western ways which merited her displeasure have Women are no longer the nonentities she found them. She predicted much improvement "should the women of America ever liscover what their power might be." discovered and all Europe confesses to their fas-cination. Men and women have ceased to eschew each other's society, and the flat-chested weakling with blank intelligence is not the typical girl of the present. We are not ungenial, as she thought us, It is hard to believe that we were ungenial then The struggle for freedom had meant too much, Indian raids from the Canada frontier and the war brought about by unjust aggression on the sea were too recent to admit of general cordiality to the English critic. For the best of reasons geniality was a little too much for Britons to expect It must have existed among the people one's self to be imposed upon without resentment except for complaint in the offender's absence, she noted in its beginnings. Since then it has assumed alarming proportions, and may be ranked Whether it be good nature or lazy selfishness, it has certainly developed bad workmen, bad servants, bad government, and has lowered the value of character by permitting the

acceptance of debased moral currency. To-day we are able to consider Mrs. Trollope's strictures, not as personal criticisms, but as questions of fact; perhaps we may even so far exercise introspection as to see if some of the things she said are not true of us still, even with the added refinement of half a century. Here a detail, there a conclusion was erroneous; but for the most part she saw clearly, and, if she judged barshly, at the of their education, but as a mass were utterly with-out culture, despising as Old-World frippery everything but the little they had learned. Nor have they changed entirely. One who has heard a learned pronounce the reading of Chaucer "pedantic affectapart. In the service of the Olympian gods lay tion" is not at all surprised at Mrs. Trollope's sathe strongest motive of Hellenic union. If this vant who thought the Queen Anne's men was the theory of the time, it was doomed to disgone by" and found nothing but obscenity in Shake appointment. The Greeks became practically speare. And the voice of a young school comes now from Boston, proclaiming the intelligence of the weak bonds like that of the Amphictyons; they prairie cabins to be the final court Do ideas, or the pretence to ideas, prevail in the United States? Diffusion of knowledge is something they were long in agreeing to any political systo be highly prized but is it an unmixed blessing to have it conferred in such a way as to make com-moners the standard? The Greek did not think State. Below the worship of the Olympians, the It is a terrible indictment that the traveller brings

against American manners and a most convincing array of facts with which she secures conviction It is a repulsive picture hardly to have been expected from a woman's pen, and the shame was that he original should have been forced upon a woman's eves. The wonder is that from such a basis of vuleyes. The woman and coarseness there came garity, intemperance and coarseness there came the decent, if not always pollshed, respectability which to-day characterizes the American people as a whole. Only a good deal of stern and solid virtue could have brought it forth at all from that semi-arbarism of backwoods life. A day's contact with a crowd of the present, with its drinking, its spitting, its resentment of reffeence, and its frequent lack of personal refinement leaves an experience which causes a shudder at the thought of what must which causes a shooter at the thought of what must have been the meeting with a company of traders and planters on a Mississippi steamboat in 1828. She thought our financial morality low. Other people might push adutences to the verge of honesty, but nobody but the Americans would be found pasting of it. And it must be admitted that the favor accorded to the successful sharper and the tendency not to question how money is obtained so long as it is obtained within the letter of the law are, though not particularly American, at least char-

are, though not particularly American, at least coar-acteristic of American society. It is trite to say that the same elastic code of morals applies to our politics. Mrs. Trollope complained that the most intelligent classes "mix wondrously little with the high matters of state, which they seem to leave rather supinely to their tailors and tinkers." same cry goes up on every hand still, except that it is not colored by class prejudice, but is based on the too frequent predominance permitted to the vicious, both in the higher and lower orders of so-Let every man have a hand in making the laws, and no man be troubled about keeping them. was her interpretation of the popular spirit; and the calm acquiescence which is yet manifested in all kinds of lawlessness, from lynching in the West and fraudulent elections in the South to corporation loot-

kinds of lawlessness, from lynching in the West and fraudulent elections in the South to corporation looting in Wall Street and general lack of obedience to municipal regulations by even the respectable citizens in our cities, makes her words seem prophetic as well as descriptive.

She thought our Government exactly fitted to us, because we and it were so bad. Matthew Arnold held the same opinion, but for reasons much more flattering to us. Faults of government reflect faults of the people, but a good system also is adjusted to their virtues. The American Constitution is so adjusted and has shown its adaptation to the country through many trials and its ability to represent the highest patriotism, international morality and the hest ideals, as well as what was "rude and rough and noisy." It is popular government with both the good and the evil which come from absence of classes. That there could be any good without classes was what Mrs. Trolope could never fully believe. "If refinement once creeps among them," said she, "if they once learn to clag to the graces, the honors, the chivalry of life, then we shall say farewell to American equality. We have not learned all of grace and chivalry to be desired, perhaps, but we have learned something more of them in half a century. Yet friendly relationships still exist which transcend barriers of worldly station in a way possible only among a people bred to domestic principles, people who really be leve that their value is measured solely by their own qualities. The native-born citizens practised democracy without ill feeling between rich and poor. Europe, on the other hand, has turned to class hatred as a means to reach the inevitable levelling of ranks, and the grafting of that imported spirit of evil on our healthy, homegrown trinciples of equality is the greatest danger to the Republic now in sight.

The publishers have been whe in bringing out this reprint of Mrs. Trollope's volumes, which have for years been difficuit to find; for they have a permanent place in A

Mr. W. D. Howelis has written a novelette to which he has given the suggestive title of "A Circle from the line in Shakespeare's in the Water," "Henry VI." "Glory is like a circle in the water." The story is to appear in "Scribner's Magazine.

LITERARY NOTES

The ex-L'bris fad as yet knows no bounds, and books for the delight of its upholders multiply apace. For a while it seemed as though everything were being done for the history of the craze and nothing for its practical side, but this is no longer the case. Mr. John Vinycomb, distinguished as an antiquarian, has contributed to a growing list volume devoted exclusively to the processes used in the production of bookplates. It is surprising to learn how many processes there are, almost as surprising as it is to discover the antiquity of the bookplate. But it needs to be said that there never was in the past any such nonsensical way of regarding the bookplate as the way of the latter day "collector." Formerly a bookplate was used to preserve a mark of ownership and a beautiful decoration in a book. Now the "decoration" is about all that is sought for, and men make scrapbooks of the specimens they can buy, exchange, or take from any ook that falls in their way, no matter how valuable. A bookplate ought never to be separated from the book for which it was first made; but it is idle to say this to a modern faddist.

Mr. Edmund Gosse has a grievance in connection with his cookplate. He complains that he is continually getting letters from his own countrymen or from Americans asking for his bookplate and offering one in exchange. He declares that he will give collectors anything they ask for in reason, but not his bookplate, this, he holds, being an arti-'to be swopped" than a handcle which is no more kerchief-an individual possession intended to denote that the book in which it is placed belongs to one person and that person only.

Bryce's "American Commonwealth" cannot be purchased in Russia, the censor being very careful to keep so splendid a lesson in republicanism out of the hands of his countrymen.

Thoreau's verse was small in quantity and not of great significance; but it had a quiet music and wildwood fragrance that make it dear to many of those who delight also in his prose. We are glad to note that several of his unpublished poems of nature have lately been discovered and are to be published in the March "Scribner.

Mr. Aubrev Beardsley is described as well man nered and unaffected and able to talk sensibly of books, pictures and men. This pleasant quality good sense he seems to have lost for the



when he told an acquaintance not long ago that he contemplated changing his style, "fearing lest be found a school." There is certainly no foundation for this fear, for even his caricaturists are few. The best of them may be seen in the newest "Punch" in a sketch reproduced here.

A literary edition in sixteen volumes of R. L. Stevenson's prose works is announced by the Scrib-It is to be a popular editon, at a price not too large for the average reader.

Roberts Brothers are also bringing out a new edi-tion of those volumes of Stevenson published some time ago by them. This edition in five volumes includes "Travels With a Donkey in the Cevennes." "An Inland Voyage," "The Silverado Squatters,"
"Treasure Island," "Prince Otto."

In each volume of an edition of Stevenson's works which the author gave to his friend and physician, Dr. Trudeau, he wrote a special dedication; and The Book-Buyer" presents these to the public. 'Underwoods" has this couplet:

Some day or other ('tis a general curse) The wisest author stumbles into verse. "Prince Otto" is introduced by these lines with

their ingenious rhyme: This is my only love tale, this Prince Otto, Which some folks like to read and others not to. And this merry query accompanied the "Travels

It blew, it rained, it thawed, it snowed, it thundered, Which was the Donkey? I have often wondered.

Mr. Stevenson's last story, "St. Ives," is to be published soon by Stone & Kimball.

The new biography of John Addington Symonds, compiled by his friend Horatio Brown from the noted writer's papers and correspondence, is rich

in anecdotes, for Symonds kept a careful record of most of the happenings of his life. He even used to make copies of letters he had written to friends, polishing the epistle in this second edition and thereby giving himself good literary exercise, as he thought, besides making his correspondence serve as a journal. Some of the best of his recollections are those which concern the much reverenced and ever delightful Jowett. Symonds says: "I think I took a letter from my father to the great, mysteriously reverenced man. I found him dozing in an armchair over a dying fire. . . . He roused himself, looked at the letter, looked at me, and said half dreamly, I do not know your father.' Then after an awkward pause he rose and added, 'Goodby, Mr. Sy-

This tale 's one of a thousand told to show the appailing way that the Master of Balliol had with ; yet Symonds ended, as every other Oxford man did, by regarding Jowett with not only respect but The translator of Plato had one of those personalities which draw men to them against their He reminds one of Carlyle in blend of forbidding with engaging qualities.

An English officer of the revolutionary days is the hero of the novel which Mr. Gilber, Parker has comtributed to "The Atlantic." The story is to be called "The Seats of the Mighty."

The late Professor Jevons's conclusion after long study of the labor question was that no hard and fast rules could be laid down for the interference of the State with labor. This conclusion, as many readers will remember, is to be found in his work on "The State in Relation to Labor." A third edition of this book with footnotes bringing the matter up to date is on the Macmillan press. The edi-M. Cababé, contributes an introduction on "The Present Aspect of Some of the Main Features of the Labor Question."

Some new novels announced by Roberts Brothers are Mr. Louis Pendleton's "Sons of Ham"-a story of the New South; Mr. Grant Allen's "The Woman Who Did," and "Prince Zaleski," by M. P. Shiel.

Mr. Hayden Carruth's brief humorous sket which have been appearing in "Harper's Weekly" under the title of "The Adventures of Jones," are soon to be sent forth in book form. The Harpers announce the funny little volume as nearly ready.

Mr. Le Gallienne calls the critics who don't ap-prove of his productions "The literary homicides whose howis of torment will be the only ciarlons of

Georges Ohnet has completed a new novel, bearing the title "The Woman in Gray.

Our English critics are continually philosophizing about American humor. The latest commentatorin "The Quarterly Review"-indulges his mood thus: One set of circumstances checked, another One set of circumstances checked, another fortered the growth of humor in the New World. Out of the shock of the opposing tides emerged the matter-of-fact, dry, sarcastic character of the National product. Puritan grimmess restrained the flow of animal spirits, enforced the duty of concealing ridiculous ideas, and so determined its demure, covert character. At the same time the meeting of savagery and civilization sharpened to their keenest edge the sense of imongratities, the perception of concealed analogies, the appreciation of hidden resemblances. The native will bears upon it the stamp of the influences of two contending forces. The broad buffoonery which often does duty for it is not a National product, though the attempt to obtain the sanction of Eiblica: phraseology undoubtedly represents one effect, and not always the most pleasing one, of this union of natural laughter and inherited sternness.